

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREEPENCE

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND CONSCRIPTION

U.S. Quakers challenge the law

GUILTY OF VIOLATING DRAFT ACT?

LEGAL conflict between the Society of Friends in Philadelphia and the United States Government is now possible. This contingency may arise as a result of a "Statement on Religious Liberty and the Draft (Conscription) Law" adopted by the two Philadelphia Friends Yearly Meetings on March 28 and 29. This statement expressly says:

"We believe that every young man who, under a sense of religious compulsion, feels that he must refuse to comply with the Draft Law, at any point, should follow the supreme authority of his inner guide.

"We believe that every Christian and every Christian Church body should encourage and support him in his loyalty to the highest that he knows. For ourselves, we give this encouragement and support . . .

"We believe religious freedom, if it is to mean anything at all, must include the right to advise our members to follow the dictates of their consciences, even if they are led thereby to violate the Selective Service Act of 1948 or any other man-made law . . .

"Aiding and abetting"

Walter Longstreth, prominent Quaker attorney, and one of those who has withheld 34.6 per cent of his income tax as the amount used for war preparations, makes a statement of the legal position:

The U.S. Selective Service Act of 1948, he says, provides that "Any person . . . who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces . . . shall, upon conviction . . . be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or by both."

A conviction under this Act, he adds, makes a person a felon.

A case of "aiding and abetting" occurred recently when Charles Rickert, a student at Bluffton College, Ohio, (a Men-

ty of Friends in Philadelphia and the now possible.

result of a "Statement on Religious Liberty and the Draft (Conscription) Law" adopted by the two Philadelphia Friends Yearly Meetings on March 28 and 29. This statement expressly says:

Learning of this, Larry Gara, a Bluffton College dean, congratulated Rickert upon his stand, and when a Deputy Sheriff came to arrest Rickert, Gara said, "Stand by your principles, Charles. Don't let them coerce you."

As a result, Gara was tried in March last, under an indictment for violation of the Act and found guilty. Judge Kloebe charged the jury: "You are instructed that if the natural and probable effect" of Gara's words were "to encourage Rickert's resistance to the Selective Service Law, you may consider such words coming within the provisions of the words counsel, aid and abet."

Quakers' action illegal

If Judge Kloebe's construction of the Draft Law is correct, Longstreth observes, then it would seem that the members of the Philadelphia Friends Yearly Meeting are similarly guilty of violating the Act.

Further points in the Philadelphia Quakers' statement are:

The heavy prison sentences imposed on many young men for refusing to register, mostly on religious grounds, represent harsher treatment than is accorded to many guilty of crimes of moral turpitude. There have also been many prosecutions for encouraging or supporting such religious objections in following their consciences.

"We are disturbed by these events because we are profoundly concerned that the supremacy of religion shall not be denied

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

PRIVATE POLOWSKY — PEACE CRUSADER

WE reproduce below a photograph published in the News Chronicle last Monday, to which was attached the story of a one-man crusade.

The man is a young Pole, Joseph Polowsky, who was a member of an American motorised patrol which, on April 25, 1945, on German territory, made contact with advancing Russian forces.

The photograph is of that meeting. The young man's story is that the meeting took place at Strela, on the Elbe, where two nights before a wagon-train of civilian refugees had been wiped out by the bombardment.

The Oath at the Elbe

The account he wrote of the meeting was: "Americans and Russians looked down at the bodies and fragments of bodies, especially the body of a child clutch-

ing play crayons in one hand and a doll in the other. . . .

"All the soldiers present—Americans and Russians—swore that they would do everything in their power to prevent such things from ever happening again, and that the nations of the world must live in peace."

While this was happening, on the same April 25, the first UN Conference was opening in San Francisco.

The war over, Joseph Polowsky returned to Chicago to study for a degree. But as he saw relations between U.S. and Russia getting worse, he began to worry. Something had to be done, somehow, to impress upon the public the significance of that international soldiers' oath.

He set out for New York to try and persuade the UN Assembly to adopt a resolution:—

That April 25, 1949, the 4th anniversary of "a majestic and monumental day in world history," should be commemorated with appropriate ceremonies.

He arrived at New York ten weeks before the Assembly and began the round of the delegation offices. They were kindly and appreciative, but could not commit themselves. In ten weeks he made 800 phone calls and wrote 700 letters.

Last week the Secretary-General of the UN announced that the delegations of Costa Rica, Lebanon and the Philippines would jointly sponsor a resolution in Assembly proposing world-wide celebration of April 25 as Unity Day in commemoration of the opening of the San Francisco Conference and the meeting of the armies of East and West on the Elbe.

Last Monday ex-Private Polowsky was still in the small hotel, saying to a newspaper man—"Maybe we shall get some place."



PPU TO CONTEST TEN SEATS IN GENERAL ELECTION

Bevin to be opposed

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION IS TO FIGHT TEN SEATS IN THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION AS A RESULT OF A DECISION TAKEN AT ITS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING LAST SATURDAY.

Frank Hancock, who moved the reference back of the General Secretary's report with an instruction to the National Council to take action, announced that he himself would oppose the Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, and would stand as an anti-war Socialist candidate.

He pointed out that this was the last AGM which could deal with the question of political action before the General Election which would take place next year.

"The place and the machinery provided for the public to protest upon urgent national questions is the General Election," he declared. "If pacifists stand aside and refuse to use that machinery they are condemned to that helplessness and frustration which had already been emphasised in the meeting."

Britain must lead

We were living in a very exceptionally free country. We were the largest pacifist body in the world, and if we evaded political action, how could we expect people in other countries to voice their opposition to war?

"At the next General Election there will not be twenty candidates for whom you can vote without sanctioning war with your vote," he added.

Whether he himself would fight Ernest Bevin as an individual or as one of the representatives of the pacifist movement in this country which had at last decided to challenge the Government on their policy of power politics, would be for the meeting to decide.

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Discussion from the floor revealed considerable diversity of opinion on the issue.

In support of the proposal, the Rev. Richard Lee, of Coventry, said he had been connected with the Labour Party for 50 years, and it was only with the greatest reluctance that he now contemplated the possibility of leaving those with whom he had worked for such a long time.

"The real issue," he declared, "is whether we can reconcile our pacifist principles with support of the present foreign policy of the Government."

All domestic reforms, he said, would be ineffectual while we permitted the expenditure of £760 million annually on war preparations, and as an instance, he said that already, as a result of that policy, the present state of affairs in education in Coventry was worse than in all the twenty years he had been there.

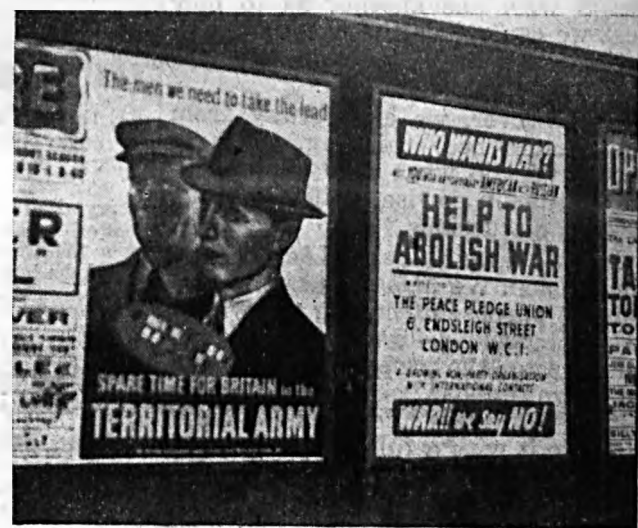
Making political history

In support, H. M. Pick urged that it was essential to the sincerity and vitality of pacifism that it should express itself in a positive policy through political channels. This attitude was endorsed by other speakers, one of whom made the point that direct political action would invigorate the movement and make pacifism political history.

Against the proposal, Audrey Jupp opposed the reference back on the grounds that the pacifist movement had no common ideals behind it as regards how the country should be governed in domestic affairs.

Sidney Conbeer, Labour candidate for Isle of Wight, said that the better policy was for pacifists to challenge, in their own

The split mind of Belfast



A few keen PPU members in Belfast recently organised a display of posters and leaflet distribution which resulted in several enquiries at PPU headquarters and some new members. Above one of the posters is seen sited alongside a Territorial Army advertisement.

districts, every candidate on the question of pacifism.

Considerable support was given to the alternative opinion that although it was right for pacifists to take individual political action, it should not be done by the PPU as an organisation.

Labour opposition already exists

Some thought that we should rely for influence rather upon our support of that considerable body of opinion already in the Labour Party against Bevin's policy, and one speaker thought that fighting elections had no propaganda value, and that to do so would militate against our main work of changing people's ideas.

Bernard Rushton, North-West Area, asked if it were not already the policy of the PPU to support any pacifist candidates who fought by-elections. Receiving the affirmative reply, he asked—"Then isn't it far more important that we should support them in a General Election?"

He ventured to say that if a Conservative Government had been in power we should not have had peace-time conscription; the opposition would have been too strong.

Frank Hancock, replying to the debate, said that it was because pacifists were concerned with domestic policy that it was up to them to oppose the vast preparations for the next war.

It was useless to rely upon questioning candidates. Which pressure, he asked, would they submit to—that of a little group who were afraid to come out into the open, or that of the Party Head Office?

The report was referred back by 163 votes to 74.

A fuller report of the twelfth AGM of Peace Pledge Union held in Beaver Hall, London, last weekend, appears on page four.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stanford Hill 2262

UPON THE INDIVIDUAL

SOME of the discussions at the AGM gave a gratifying indication of the vitality of the Movement's concern with certain matters of urgent importance.

It seemed clear that, even if such discussions had ever abated, which we doubt, they would now be healthily revived.

Resolutions may be passed, and votes taken, but these arguments will go on; for they relate to questions which in one form or another are always with us. They arise out of our common concern with certain fundamental principles on which we agree, and although we may argue about their application to this or that contingency, those principles, and our agreement, will abide.

By taking votes, we have not finished with the question of whether or in what manner we can work for peace with those with whom we differ so profoundly regarding the implications of peace and the methods of maintaining it.

Neither have we ended our arguments with one another as to how best we can utilise the political institutions of our country for the furtherance of pacifist aims.

If, however, we come away from the conference thinking, "These people will do what they want, anyway," that in nowise limits the value of such discussions.

For we have no Party Line, and no compulsion. We hold discussions only for the purpose of finding the widest possible ground for common action, but also for the purpose of clarifying our own minds; so that, whatever future course we take as individuals, we take it with a fuller knowledge of its implications, and a stronger sense of personal responsibility.

Those who have heard their view opposed by fellow-pacifists, and still resolve to act upon it, will do so with greater insight into their own motives.

Those who intend to put the pacifist point of view from Communist platforms will do so only after submitting their motives to the salutary test of Michael Tippett's reasons why he couldn't do so himself.

It was with true insight into the needs of the pacifist movement in this present situation, faced as it is with a rapidly growing demand upon its strength and its unity, that Vera Brittain's address should have laid its chief emphasis upon individual responsibility.

The truth is, we all know quite well the answer to the question of how to instil into the movement the spontaneity and vitality it is now called upon to show. It is for each of us to regard himself or herself as the embodiment of the whole movement.

We have finished with the period of lamenting lost leaders. In this connection we may recall a remark of G. K. Chesterton's. Referring to the popular demand for some "great man" to inspire and lead the people out of their depression, he said that if people did nothing but hang about and wait for a leader they would get the wrong leader.

Progressive movements can only arise, he said, when everybody has begun to progress, and—"the great man will ride in at some splendid moment when we all feel we can do without him."

IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

Pictures in the News

A Commentary by Roy Sherwood

TWO pictures in yesterday's papers (Saturday, April 23,) can hardly have failed to strike the imagination of a good many people by force of contrast between the stories attached to them: the first, of the cruiser London with shell-holes in her hull and superstructure, the other of a young man described as "twenty-four-year-old Edward Youde, third secretary in the British Embassy at Nanking."

The cruiser, as the whole wide world knows by this time, had gone up the Yangtze to rescue the Amethyst which had been badly damaged by gunfire from shore-batteries of the Chinese Communist Army advancing on Nanking. It had failed in that task, and the picture showed it coming alongside the quay at Shanghai, with twelve of its own men dead.

As for the young man, his picture was being published because he had set out in a one-man volunteer mission across the mud-flats of the river, to try to establish contact with the Communist commander to induce him to order a cease-fire, so that the wounded of the Amethyst might be brought away.

So, one picture showed the machinery of naval strength, speaking the language of power, that had failed to stop the Chinese gunfire after having provoked it; the other showed a courageous young man, speaking Chinese, setting out to see if he could do better.

The Dartmouth incident

IF there is a lesson in this, it is not the only one to be found in that day's papers. For most of them also carried a report, and some of them a picture, of Harry Pollitt, the Communist leader, in need of police protection after the break-up of a meeting at Dartmouth at which the crowd had not allowed him to deliver his

intended political speech. (Monday morning reports show that Pollitt fared even worse later at Plymouth.)

He had then invited questions and offered to answer them; and when he was asked what he would have done if he had been in the Amethyst, he had replied:

"I should have done just what our boys are doing at this moment. But I am sure I should also be asking the same question many of them are asking—'Why were we ordered up here without having made quite sure that it was known on both sides of the river?'"

The Times asks the same question

THERE is nothing in that answer that can infuriate anyone in a normal state of mind. It raised, quite legitimately, a question since asked all over the world, and also referred to almost at once by The Times, in a leading article, in the words:

"It will be asked why no British contact could be made beforehand with the Communists and why these ships and men had to be put athwart the fighting."

Neither The Times nor the Conservative and other questioners in the House of Commons will be accused of treachery to their country for asking it. From them, it will be accepted as a reasonable question. But not from Harry Pollitt, in the mood of the Dartmouth meeting. For there, among the people who would not let him speak, was a man whose son, a Petty Officer, had been killed in the cross-talk of power-language between the Chinese Communists and the British Navy.

To him, therefore, and to his sympathisers, it was not the words of Pollitt's answer that mattered. What mattered to them was that here was a Communist, "whose friends had murdered" the Petty Officer—which shows, as millions of other things do daily, that it is not reason but emotion that determines man's alleged free action on practically every occasion in his life.

That is why pacifism will never stand

Letters to the Editor

PPU in Parliament

I SHOULD like to support the very eloquent plea made by Frank R. Hancock for representation of PPU in the Commons.

Pacifists are very much in the position of the present Labour Party pioneers in 1892. They believed the Liberals would give the workers the economic stability they required. Just as pacifists today have a kind of blind faith that this Labour Government will renounce war. Finally Keir Hardie and others saw the truth: faced all the implications of splitting the progressive vote and fought as independent Labour candidates. Doubtless they faced heavy criticism at the outset but the policy paid in the long run.

We used to say pacifism is a way of life—that unless goods cross borders armies will. We need a pacifist policy for housing, international trade, foreign affairs, for agriculture, for education and so on. Only the PPU can honestly say it will institute a Ministry of Peace. For the life of me I cannot see why so many members of the PPU are afraid to enter politics. Every protest against conscription and atomic bombs, every letter to a Minister or a private member is a political act.

Mr. Hancock rightly says the only place to propagate pacifism is in the House of Commons, and by MPs not tied to any party.

ALBERT LEAPER

22 Barrington Avenue,
Hull.

Show war to mothers

I SEE in the Press that mothers of young miners have been taken down a pit to see the conditions under which their sons are to work.

I think the idea is excellent, and would suggest to the powers that be that this idea is carried out in other directions.

If for instance mothers were taken out to see battlefields and scenes of war (under war-time conditions) and the conditions under which their sons live and fight, war would be well on its way to abolition forever.

I am sure that all mothers of young Service men (and women) would be only too willing to make such a visit, and would volunteer to go where their children have to go, as would your correspondent.

ETHEL A. LEWIS

The Manse,
Brill, Aylesbury, Bucks.

Ministry of Peace

I WOULD like to endorse very heartily, Ethel Lewis' plea in a recent issue of Peace News for a Ministry of Peace. I believe that a case for a Minister of Peace is a strong one and capable of considerable development.

In a country like our own in which 99 per cent. of the population want to live in peace, surely a Secretary of State for

War is out-dated and even an offence to intelligence.

One is perplexed sometimes to know what a pacifist will do in an atom-war which might be fought by scientists pressing buttons. But any suggestion should be considered which shifts the emphasis from what we pacifists should do when a war comes, to what we can do to prevent it coming.

I am sure that propaganda along the lines suggested by Ethel Lewis would be attractive to a wider public than those holding pacifist views, and, I hope, Mrs. Lewis, to men as well as women!

I should be pleased to hear from any reader to whom this matter appeals.

WALLACE H. HANCOCK

Movement for a Pacifist Church,
21, Raymond Avenue,
South Woodford, E.18.

Workers, unite for peace

THE working classes can stop the drift to war. They form the bulk of the population but they do not fully realise their strength.

The masses elect representatives and give them power in Parliament and in their Trades Unions to serve them. What happens? Those who are chosen to be their servants often enough become their masters.

It is the same with the drift towards a third world war.

The American air bases being established here and the present conscription policy are robbing the country of much sorely needed man-power and capital. There is surely no mandate from the people for all this.

Until now I have always voted Labour, but I regret to say that I have lost faith in those who profess to serve us.

But even in such extremity there is a remedy if the masses will only act: that is by becoming members of the Peace Pledge Union, the British Section of the War Resisters' International.

It remains to be seen whether the workers determine to fight for their right to become masters or remain fools.

W. ATHERTON,
(An ex-Serviceman.)

27 William Street,
Lower Ince, Wigan.

Pacifists in South Africa

I HAVE lived for 19 years in this country and have not as yet met an enthusiastic pacifist except my husband.

The object of this letter is to ask you to publish this welcome to any pacifist immigrants to South Africa. They will find a hearty welcome at the address below, and—who knows?—we may be able to form the first and much needed PPU group in South Africa.

(Mrs.) PATRICIA STEVENS

8 Approach Avenue,
Selwyn, R.O. Discovery, Transvaal.

a chance of becoming a mass-value until it blends instinct and emotion in the right proportions with reason. It must be sound on all fronts of psychology.

And it is also why, amidst the growing tension between the West and Russia, every lover of peace—let alone the convinced pacifist—should refrain from joining the well-nigh universal chorus of condemnation of the Russians, whatever he may think of Communism.

The Paris conference

IN Paris, there is the World Congress of Partisans of Peace. It is, of course, true to say that it is Communist-inspired and sponsored. But where is the proof that everything Communist-inspired is bound to be bad?

Have we already slithered so far down the slope of irrationality that, while we are shouting in one direction that the Russians refuse all personal contacts between their people and the people of the West, we want to yell out in the other against anyone on our side who goes to Paris to make such contacts when they are offered?

I am in no position to judge how far the Communists are pursuing a propaganda aim at the Paris Congress. Probably to a considerable extent. But I also know that fear of the other man's propaganda is indicative of a lack of faith in the strength of one's own case. And I know further that the extract from Mme. Kosmodemyanskaya's address to the Congress, reprinted in translation in the Daily Worker of April 23, reads like one of the best speeches ever heard from any PPU platform.

The technique of non-violence?

THE last of the three most important news stories of the week concerns Berlin. The success of the air-lift, of which a pacifist may be excused for saying in passing that it comes nearer in conception to the technique of non-violent resistance than any other method as yet tried against the Soviets, has apparently brought the Kremlin to a frame of mind favourable for the reopening of discussions about Germany.

There is evidence also that the Kremlin has got past the stage of being furious about the Marshall Plan. It is now afraid of it, if we may believe Alexander Werth's friend Catherine, whose impressions he reports in an article in the week's New Statesman.

Catherine says that the Russians are in a mood described by all kinds of people—Poles, British and a few others, and especially the British—as "ugly," and she herself defines that mood as "very scared and rather aggressive"—but scared not of losing the war but simply of having it. She speaks of the "devastating effect" of the Atlantic Pact, and goes on to say: "You can talk to any Russian till you are blue in the face, and you will still fail to convince him that American air bases in Norway are required for the defence of America and not for the purpose of dropping atom bombs on Murmansk and Leningrad."

The two roads

IT would seem therefore that we have once again reached a point where two divergent roads are open to western policy.

It can make most of the present opportunity, slight as it still is, of widening the possibilities of a re-start of discussions with the Soviets; or it can push the Russians further along the road of Catherine's "ugly mood . . . of fear and aggressiveness" and of Alexander Werth's "encirclement psychosis."

Whichever of the two it does, it will be accepted by most people in the west as the only policy capable of preserving peace, exactly as the Atlantic Pact was accepted in the same spirit—with one reservation: the degree of confidence in the Pact varies with the signatories' geographical situation. The nearer they are to the European continental front, the shakier is their faith.

Broadcasting over Radio Hilversum in that station's World Programme Service, the Australian newspaper correspondent Henry C. James said the other day:

"I don't know if the signing of the Atlantic Pact has removed fear of the future from America, but it hasn't done so from the little nations of Europe. They remember the speed with which the West of Europe was overrun by the Germans . . . and they remember that they spent the next six years under the heel of the Nazis."

Perhaps the miracle of new negotiations will come to pass. But it would be useless to pretend that the signs are favourable. The reports of Soviet offers to lift the Berlin blockade have been treated by even the most progressive British papers as mere indications of the strengthened position of the Allies, justifying a stiffened attitude; and the Observer, devoting a whole column leading article to the subject, says that "unless Moscow calls off its aggression in China, Burma, Malaya and Greece, and its campaign of subversion and sabotage of which the Partisan of Peace Congress in Paris is the latest example" any new offer on Germany can be regarded only as a move in the continuing cold war, and should be scrutinised with extreme care.

Well, no one will object to the advice of extreme care. But care works, at its best, in more than one direction.

RUSSIAN FRIENDSHIP THE WAY TO PEACE

THE largest branch of the British-Soviet Society is in Coventry. This Society is banned by the officials of the Labour Party and by the Trades Union Congress: its members are threatened with expulsion from the Labour Party.

The Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades' Council has been suspended because he proposed to attend, as a delegate, a conference promoted by the British Soviet Society. The Labour Party officials label this Society as "Camouflaged Communist Organisation."

I am Chairman of the Coventry branch and can affirm that our sole object is to promote friendship with Soviet Russia. The Conservative Mayor is still President. The Communists neither directly nor indirectly control our activities. Quite recently we have invited anti-Communists to take part in a Brains Trust and also asked Mr. Hore Belisha to take the anti-Russian side in a debate.

The policy of our branch is to spread the whole truth about Russia as one way to understanding and peace.

Some pacifists look askance!

Some of one's best friends will have no dealings with the activities of the British Soviet Society because it does not exclude Communists. Moreover, they imagine that speaking a good word for Russia is to blind oneself to the alleged atrocious deeds of the Russian Dictatorship.

They quote "Darkness at Noon" and Middleton Murry to show the inhuman treatment of prisoners in worse-than-Belsen concentration camps.

They recount the ruthless treatment of minorities and leaders who do not see eye-to-eye with Stalin. They put all the blame on Russia for the ineffectiveness of UNO and above all set down the Berlin blockade to the callous inhumanity of the Communist godless government. Before one can have dealings with such malefactors, they must show a change of mind and bring forth fruits for repentance.

Reasons for friendship

How far the allegations about the double dose of sinfulness of the Soviet regime may be true it is hard to say. There are such conflicting statements from visitors to Russia. But suppose that all the charges as to Bolshevik brutality were true, these are good reasons for seeking friendship with Russia.

Let me set down with the utmost brevity a few reasons why a pacifist should strive

for friendship with Russia as the only sure path to world peace:—

We should believe in the good as well as the evil in Russian achievements. The freedom from illiteracy in a generation is one achievement.

The treatment of children is another. Russia is far in advance of Britain with Nursery Schools.

However much the potentates of the Kremlin may dictate foreign policy (as our Foreign Office has done for generations and continues to do), the Russian people have vast control over the conditions of industry.

One member of our branch has lived for two years in Soviet Russia and speaks with

by

Rev. Richard Lee

Member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union and Chairman of the Coventry Branch of the British Soviet Society. For more than fifty years a leading figure in Labour and Peace movements.

longing of some boons she would like to have in Britain which were given in Russia.

The industrial progress of Soviet Russia and the efforts towards rehabilitation after the terrible war-devastation would never have happened but for the enthusiasm of the common people in backing up Government plans.

In some cases they have achieved far more in three months than we have done in four years—e.g., in rebuilding schools, libraries and hospitals.

Let us not ignore the good even if we admit much that is evil.

The Western Allies not holy innocents

The Western Powers who have rallied round the military Atlantic Pact should not put on the holy garb of innocence.

The Powers who hurled the atomic bomb

on an already crushed and defeated enemy, who burst dams to murder men, women and children, who at Yalta and Potsdam drove millions from their homes to wander over Europe, who still continue the preparations of worse atomic warfare and chemical destruction—these are not the folk to hold up their saintly hands in horror at the black deeds of Russia.

The latest statement of Churchill, at Boston, that Russia would have been in London with a Communist Government but for America's manufacture of the Atomic Bomb has not a shred of foundation in fact. A wicked, more malevolent statement was never made.

A recent American book, which has been suppressed in USA, ("Bases and Empire"), shows the immense expansion of American Imperialism aiming at world domination:

"The United States is expanding at a rate never witnessed before in history. While we cry 'stop thief' at the Soviet Union we are ourselves engaged in extending the broadest area of military strategic domination ever controlled by one nation."

This statement is proved up to the hilt. The Western Allies have some need to talk about aggression!

Ideology does not always determine policy

The belief of the anti-Soviet Pharisees that Russian ideology makes it inevitable that Russia should declare war on the west is fatuous. Even Sumner Welles admitted recently that no country has more interest in peace than Russia.

If Russian statesmen view the possibility of war it is because of the machinations of the "capitalist world."

Those machinations are facts, in oil, in rubber, in efforts to capture world trade. Russia has made peaceful bargains with non-Socialist States and kept them.

A Government which sought a fairer distribution of world-commodities, food, oil, rubber, raw materials would not find oppo-

HE WANTS MORE!

Scene: House of Commons.

Business: Debate on Germany and Eastern Europe.

Mr. Fitzroy Maclean (Lancaster): Some hon. Gentlemen opposite recently made a great fuss because a Greek decoration had been awarded to a British NCO. I should like to see more opportunities afforded to British NCOs to win Greek decorations.

Mr. Gallacher (West Fife): And see a lot of British boys killed over there.

Mr. Zilliacus (Gateshead): Is the hon. and gallant Member's proposal that we should send conscripts from this country to take part in the war in Greece?

Mr. Maclean: I think it would be preferable to send Regular troops, but if we have not enough Regular troops we should send conscripts. That would be better than sending no troops at all. . . .

sition in Russia. It is the Western Governments who stand for the control by capitalistic jugglers in finance and industry.

I do not agree that Russia is the vile sinner of Churchill's imagination. But even if she were, atomic bombs, chemical warfare, £4,000 million war budgets, encircling alliances, oil and rubber monopolies, are not the methods to induce peace.

In our approach to Russia we should remember the terrible things Russia has suffered.

Eight million deaths in the war to our 300,000; countries and towns and cities devastated on a far vaster scale than ours by Nazi ruthlessness.

If we were to spend one tenth of the £760 millions we are spending on preparing to fight Russia on helping Russia to recover, I believe it would put an end to all fear of aggression on both sides. That would be the Christian way, and I believe it would prove to be the practical way. It would certainly be infinitely preferable to the Churchill-Bevin way.

Moreover, if the people of Britain had the chance to know the truth of things, that, I firmly believe, is the way they would follow. Wherever the British-Soviet Society gets a hearing, it makes converts to the great Crusade of Peace with Russia and with all the world.

May - time and Peace

Backward glance and forward vision

By R.W. SORENSEN, MP

hatred; and the proletarian paradise to come is the the mortuary of dead hopes to others.

The British Labour Movement has impressive achievements to its credit, but the red flag is at half-mast beneath the national symbol. And it would be true to say that the millions who voted and still vote Labour feel somewhat embarrassed by dry echoes of international socialism even while they applaud perfunctorily general sentiments of ultimate peace issuing from the United Nations, Federal Union and similar sources.

There are peace conferences where a desperate emotional protest against the prospect of war mingles with suspicious strategic political slogans, but generally there is a mood of fatalism and almost of cynicism.

There is new life

These words are wintry and bleak, like the stems and branches that endure the leafless season. But life has stirred again and there are leaves and blossoms on the trees. And May time returns, pregnant with creative vitality that is not confined to nature but swells also in the human spirit. An instinctive celebration penetrates into human consciousness and requires its equivalent in the human mind and heart. This is to be found in the latent social conviction for which once the red flag was a familiar sign; and the conviction remains waiting for the stimulating nourishment of a vigorous faith in the true fulfilment of man. The very harshness of the times; and the twisted poverty of fear needs the inflowing of the rich, abiding sense of a common humanity potent with courage and compassion.

Our insistent faith

The proclamation of such a comprehensive faith that insists on the pre-eminence of the essential comradeship of men and women over all their divergent distinctiveness must be made even if there comes no response. It must be made particularly when there is no response, because wants do not coincide with needs.

Yet in fact there is a response. The peoples of the earth have succumbed to terror and are haunted by bloody sacrilege, but within sorrow and suffering there can be generated splendid things.

Here in Britain, especially, despite the deadlock shadow, can the democratic values we cherish be expanded into a finer sensitivity to the equality of all the races that dwell in their continental homelands.

I will look at my apple buds again, but with clarified vision, and with memories touched with gratitude like the unfolded petals that now are red. And when the blossom opens out into white loveliness I shall think of peace.

This may sound like poetic frenzy but there's no law against that! Rather I believe there is a law for it—the same law that made me first tramp London streets behind waving banners when my heart was young, and still keeps it so.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, April 28, 1939

The death is reported from America of Dr. Har Dayal, who was . . . associated with the late Bart de Ligt in the foundation of the Peace Academy.

He was born 54 years ago in Delhi, where he had a remarkable academic career. He threw up his prospects of a lucrative academic career in the British Civil Service and wandered over India preaching the cause of Indian freedom. Later he went to the USA where he organised the Gadar (Revolution) Party many of whose members returned to India and suffered life imprisonment or execution.

After the outbreak of war he was arrested in California, but escaped to Germany to carry on his political work.

After the war he became a political exile, and a ban on his return to India was only recently lifted. He never went back, however.

As a result of his pacifist views expressed in an article in Peace News last August, Patrol Leader Maurice Fuzzard, of Hull, has had to leave the Scout Movement.

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TWELFTH A.G.M. OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

IN the absence of the retiring chairman, George M. Ll. Davies, Sybil Morrison, last Saturday, opened the twelfth Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union in the Beaver Hall, London, and welcomed Vera Brittain as the Union's new national chairman.

In her opening address, Vera Brittain stressed the note of personal responsibility.

As chairman, she said, she was today concerned less with the international crisis than with the crisis in the PPU. We had to admit that at the moment the movement was not as strong as it should be. Why wasn't it?

The answer, she thought, lay in individual terms.

The individual approach was needed now. From time to time it was important to think out one's position; but what mattered now was that the personal lives of those who belonged to the movement should be consistent with its claims and substantiate those claims in the eyes of the world.

"We are organised on the basis of a personal pledge, but that pledge means nothing if it is not backed by the standard of conduct which it implies."

Where we had failed

It was, she thought, in the individual maintenance of that standard of conduct that we had failed.

She had been enquiring, especially among young people, about the popular attitude towards pacifism. She had found there were numbers who, though determined not to take part in war and willing to join any movement to promote world peace, were yet unwilling to join the PPU.

She thought there were two reasons: The PPU had the reputation of being a quarrelsome body full of internal squabbles. Secondly, it was said to be composed of cranks so concerned with their own organisation that they couldn't see the wood for the trees.

These things, which had been said by our enemies, were now being said by our potential friends; and the very young people who should renew our life-blood would not join us because they did not think we behaved like pacifists.

A constructive pledge

Members would agree that in the past there had been substance for such views. And because she was convinced that the maintenance of high personal standards was the chief answer to the problem of declining membership, she would like to see a constructive pledge added to the negative one, such as—

"And I pledge myself to try to live, both publicly and privately, a life which will make me an instrument of peace."

We must ask for strength to be worthy of the pacifist pledge; to be such missionaries for the PPU that others would want to join it instead of being frightened away by our shortcomings.

A motion recommended by the National Council was passed, following a discussion on the floor, which would effect a saving in money in future meetings of the Council. This read:

"National Council shall meet not less than three times a year and shall consist of one representative elected by and from each Area together with six other members of the PPU who shall be elected by these area representatives from a list to which nominations shall be invited from the whole Movement. National Council shall elect an executive to act on their behalf between the meetings."

The meeting then turned to the reports, which had been previously published in the April PPU Journal.

The first report, that from the General Secretary, provided Sybil Morrison with an opportunity of briefly commenting on her work as Campaign Organiser. Loudly applauded when she rose to speak, she expressed her appreciation of the very great help, co-operation

VERA BRITTAIN on "The crisis in the PPU"; MICHAEL TIPPETT: "I await the true International"

and goodwill afforded by all the staff at Dick Sheppard House in the carrying on of the campaign. She drew the attention of members to the new "easy-to-read" literature which was displayed on the bookstall and urged members to take samples away with them.

After further discussion on the General Secretary's Report the meeting considered Frank Hancock's motion for the reference back of the report and calling upon the PPU to support ten candidates at the General Election, which is reported on page one.

In the absence of Dr. Alex Wood, Chairman of the Board of Peace News Ltd., Stuart Morris moved the adoption of the Peace News report and extended a welcome to the new Editor, Bernard Boothroyd, who was present.

Stuart Morris hoped that the movement would consider the possibility in future of inviting other pacifist organisations, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, to share in the proprietorship of the paper, thereby making it the organ of the whole pacifist movement in this country.

Mrs. H. J. Belshaw, of Belfast, thought that too much space was taken up in Peace News by the political aspect; that there was too much unnecessary criticism and bitterness and two extreme points of view presented.

Points for Peace News

She made the following three suggestions:

1. That Peace News should publish a simple, clearly-written textbook which could be put into the hands of would-be pacifists.
2. That a portion of Peace News might be set aside for youth.
3. That a quarterly pacifist digest be published and displayed on bookstalls and in bookshops.

The contrary was stressed by H. M. Pick, however, who said it was valuable to have a paper like Peace News in which one could be presented with opposite viewpoints—in contrast to a present-day trend for newspapers to present only one view-point.

Peace News report and accounts were adopted with a special message to Frank Lea thanking him for the service he had rendered during his editorship.

The PPU Treasurer's report and Accounts were moved by Maud Rowntree, the announcement of whose re-election as Treasurer had earlier been loudly applauded.

"We want Dick Sheppard House to be a lighthouse," she told the meeting. "It is not easy to do that unless we have the oil supply with which to light the lamp. She appealed to members to see that the £5,000 for 1949 was met and headquarters enabled to continue its work free from financial anxieties."

Following a discussion, in which Cora Southgate, on behalf of Luton Group withdrew an amendment of which they had previously given notice, the following motion by National Council was accepted:

"National Council recommend that in view of the impossibility of finding a suitable house for use as a conference centre, the Maurice Rowntree Memorial Fund be utilised as follows:

1. That a limited amount be taken from the capital for the purpose of providing furniture, etc., for a room at Dick Sheppard House to be known as the Maurice Rowntree Room;
2. That the trustees of the Peace Pledge Union be authorised to invest the balance of the capital, the interest on which for the time being shall be at the disposal of the Executive Committee, for the purpose of providing grants to facilitate the interchange of visits between Britain and other countries. It shall be competent for National Council to recommend other uses of the Fund if it seems desirable from time to time."

DISCUSSION on Sunday morning was on the London Area motion:

"This Annual Meeting of the



VERA BRITTAIN

Follows Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury, Alex Wood and Geo. M. Ll. Davies as Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

PPU, believing that a service could be rendered to the Movement by the training of volunteers in acts of non-violent resistance, and by the formation of specialised and functional groups for the purpose of resisting war and preparation for war, urges National Council to make plans to achieve this."

Bill Barlex, moving, urged that new methods of development should be started; the Group system had largely failed through lack of enthusiasm. He suggested the setting up of specialised, functional groups to make use of the varied talents in the movement, and to evolve a concrete message for the public. The motion was seconded by Phyllis Vallance, who stressed the necessity of a study of the implications of non-violent techniques.

Alderman G. C. Maddever, of Cornwall, spoke against the motion as being negatively obstructive and likely to antagonise people. Ethel Lewis, of Aylesbury, opposing this view, felt the movement had become far too respectable.

Alan Mister pleaded for a consideration of the kind of Society in which we live, the first necessity being to change that.

What kind of resistance?

The question arose during the discussion as to whether non-violent resistance was envisaged against a possible foreign invasion, or against war preparation by our own government. Audrey Jupp felt the resolution might be against the spirit of pacifism, which should seek to conciliate rather than to oppose.

Other speakers opposed the motion on the grounds that facilities already existed for the formation of such groups; the work must not be left to the National Council or the staff at Dick Sheppard House, but should be done by individual members.

An amendment to the motion was proposed by John Bell and seconded by Frank Dawtry:

"To delete all words between 'rendered' and 'purpose' and to substitute 'by the Movement of this country by the advocacy of and support for the Wellock policy for a new social order as the best means of resisting war and preparation for war...'"

They felt that the policy outlined by Wilfred Wellock in his recent pamphlet "Rebuilding Britain" provided the only way of averting a future war.

"Wilfred Wellock is not putting the clock back"—said Frank Dawtry—"he is preventing it from going right back to barbarism."

The method of non-violence was right; we must see that the end was right too. We should be concerned not with what we could get, but with what we could give to society and what we could go without.

Harry Hilditch, supporting the

amendment, felt that the creation of a new social order was essential, and would enlist the support of many people, not pacifists, who do not want another war.

As many speakers seemed anxious to retain both points of view, Frank Dawtry suggested that the proposed amendment should become an addendum to the original motion; this suggestion was agreed.

A Luton amendment to the original motion suggested inserting the words:

"By encouraging the formation of specialised and functional groups for the purpose of propagating pacifism in their various spheres of life and for resisting war."

This amendment was not carried. The London Area Motion with addendum was carried by 189 votes to 78, reading as follows:—

"This Annual Meeting of the PPU, believing that a service could be rendered to the Movement by the training of volunteers in acts of non-violent resistance, and by the formation of specialised and functional groups for the purpose of resisting war and preparation for war, and by the advocacy of and support for the Wellock policy for a new social order, urges National Council to make plans to achieve this."

Co-operation with Communists

ON Sunday afternoon Stuart Morris amplified the statement made by the Executive Committee explaining the policy of the PPU in sharing certain conferences and demonstrations with the Communists.

We were fully aware, he said, that the ultimate aims of the Communist Party were not the same as ours. They were not pacifists; their methods were often such as we deplored and mistrusted. That in itself was not a sufficient reason for refusing to join them in a limited objective, provided that (as was the case) we in no way compromised our principles and made our position perfectly clear.

To co-operate with other organisations in trying to stop the drift to war did not in any way involve us in the policy of the CP nor commit us to their ideology.

The fundamental differences between Governments could and must be resolved; America, Britain and Russia must learn to live side by side. There was surely no other way of persuading those whom we might think to be so fundamentally wrong, to accept the principles and values which we believed to be right, than by giving them every opportunity of understanding what we meant by pacifism.

The decision of the National Council thus presented a concern to try and achieve in the limited field within our immediate reach, the results which we desired to see achieved in the larger relationships of governments themselves.

A personal viewpoint

Michael Tippet said he was not there to object specifically to the terms of the Executive Committee. He had a very personal point of view to put.

He had previously written of his fear that discussions arising on this problem were always in danger because the psychological effect of the Iron Curtain was much wider than the PPU or even than Communism. It would happen in that hall in a few minutes. We were bound to disagree.

For example: A letter to Peace News had complained because someone had said that many now acknowledged that the chief obstacle to peace was the Soviet's conviction that capitalism was aggressive, and he did not believe the chief obstacle was Russia, but America. Both statements were, psychologically, correct. Millions held both views so strongly that they were prepared to go to war about it. Our object was to break down that complex.

If anyone thought that Russia was the chief obstacle to peace he would not be convinced of the folly of his statement by the opposite statement that America was aggressive. Anyone could find plenty of copy for a newspaper to

support either view. But there was other copy which stood resolutely above that problem dividing the world—such as the writer of the Peace News pamphlet, "East and West;" we knew by his words that the author, Heinz Kraschutski, was on neither side of the Iron Curtain. That was the kind of copy he would like to find.

On this issue it was not possible to have a purely pacifist vision—a great many other things were involved, including one's whole ideas about social life.

Inner conflict

Michael Tippet said that he spoke as a pacifist, a socialist and a humanist. As a pacifist he did not think democracy could be defended by force of arms. As a socialist he was not interested in any attempt to bolster up, by American aid, such regimes as Chiang Kai Shek's. As a humanist there were liberal views which were part of himself as a human being and sometimes transcended those questions. Those views sometimes came into conflict.

To take a hypothetical case: Imagine one were asked, in America, to attend a conference for American neutrality organised by Dixiecrats, who believed in the segregation of the Negro.

If one decided to go as a humanist to such a conference—to appear on a Jim Crow platform—one could only do so on condition that one could take an open step, on that platform, against the Jim Crow attitude of the convenors. And one would have to be very clever to do that. He would not go because he would not know how to do it—that is, he wouldn't know how to appear as a CO on a Jim Crow platform without giving a false impression that might do untold harm.

Others might be able to appear on Communist platforms and make their position clear. It might be worth it; but he believed that for particular purposes it was more valuable to remain separate.

No to New York

As a concrete case, he was asked to go to the New York Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. For specific personal reasons he could not go. He could not, because, as a musician with colleagues and friends behind the Iron Curtain, who were not free to express their own personal feelings, he did not know how to prevent his attitude being misinterpreted in such a light as to wound or bewilder those people.

At that New York conference of pacifists and Communists, the pacifists had asked questions of two Russians which it was difficult for them to answer. The Russians could not really say what they really felt. The questions only embarrassed and hurt them, for they were in a position in which English and Americans had not been and could not understand.

There was only one people he could represent and it did not seem frustrating to him if he could not represent others. Under a British Government he had been in prison; under the Russian Government, his proper place would have been Siberia, or to join the tremendous roll of the dead.

The PPU would do well to reserve its name. Such name as he had he would reserve, happily, for that other conference not yet called, and for which he waited—the conference to which his name belonged.

Comrades of the WRI

He meant the conference of the War Resisters' International—their own comrades who stretched right across the Iron Curtain.

Replying to the debate, Michael Tippet stressed the point that his was a purely personal point of view. He did not want to fight those who felt otherwise.

He did not think one way was absolutely right, nor did he want to use his deep feelings to prevent those who saw differently from acting differently.

His instincts were romantic ones. They were with the underdog; with the pacifists who suffered in every country. He did not want to make things difficult for those in Siberia.

If he were in the Southern States of the USA he would have to choose whether to break the law or travel Jim Crow—so he didn't go there. For similar reasons he did not go to Russia.

"I want to belong by right," he said, "to the people who belong to me, and I cannot do this if what is said in Russia and heard in the living human tortured people there makes them think that I have stood with their torturers."

Essential Reading
for Active Pacifists

THE PPU JOURNAL

Monthly Fourpence

From Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, or your local PPU Group (Postage 1d.)

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What are we doing to the man
who does the work?

WE all know the kind of household which is in two definite parts—the members, and the staff. And wherever we go the same barriers obtain. Be it conference or civic function, banquet or cheese in a pub, there is an accepted division of people, one on the right hand and the other on the left.

In accepting work on the land it becomes pronounced still more. There are the administrators and the labourers, the office and the field, and never the twain shall meet. The pacifist, who of all people is most conscious of the need to integrate people, even to the extent of acting as the flux himself, seldom finds it possible to do more than elect which side he serves, and being so conscious of the need of integration, generally descends to the lower class, the Bodge of the world. In doing so he often puts himself into the position of an alien, suspected by the people he desires to serve and outside the pale of those to whom he belongs.

Of course there are the few who inevitably and simply reach out to any and every class of men, who by having that quality within themselves which knits people together, never see or experience any barrier. That kind of person is rare. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that most of us are in one camp or the other, and accept our own camp as being our natural habitat. The question then becomes: What is our natural habitat? To which side do we belong?

This is where the conscience of the individual is going to get some earnest exercise. In the past, great movements grew out of the genius of leadership which lifted one section out of its suppressed condition. Keir Hardie didn't ask the working man to hate his boss. He liberated the working man by telling him he had no boss: "You are not the working class, you are the nation." On such an inspiration the Labour Party was founded. Dissolve the barrier of class and men become free. Maintain the division of men and the spirit of man is forever in chains.

Anything but human

Alas, it doesn't work like that. Poor old Bodge is either subject to those who have a contempt for him, and exploit him in consequence, or he is under subjection to those who would patronise him, and exploited again. Never is he freed. As he bends his back the sociologist, psychologist, administrator, politician, dietician, educationist, scientist, and a host of others whose names he will never be able to spell, count his moves, his needs, his moods, his heartbeats, his reactions, his output, his vocabulary, his mother's maiden name, and docket, tabulate, formulate, assess, as near as possible, his very soul. He never exists in the aggregate, as a man, as a whole.

Always he is abstract, a piece of experimental material from which reports can be made. And God help him if he is caught doing nothing. We can be sure that some

kindly person will want to cater for his spare time.

This problem has to be faced more courageously and honestly than in the past.

Dominant—or liberate?

But we must not become like Bodge, though we admire him, unless we are him. The indecent surrender of the spirit to our own horrible benevolence: the blasphemous effort to conquer in the belief that thereby we are liberating the soul of man—this has to be revealed as the horror it is.

The old delicate relationships have gone, and in their places is this lust to dominate, become masters of fate and captains of souls.

We do the same with everything. We have subordinated the very earth. The sea is something we play with. The air is for experimentation. Fire has given way to central heating, so that you could live in a place for years and never see the hearth. And light is something we imagine we can turn on like a tap: most of us really believe that the daylight saving controls the sun. We do all these things to the elements, what do we do to man?

Apart from the Bodges, now in the minority, the balance are employed in creating schemes and systems designed to keep Bodge happy in his work. Once we get away from simple labour, away from the truth that the feeding of man is a sanctified work, we build complex upon complex, so that we cannot see the figure of man behind the barrier of abstractions we have put up around him. Where is there a way out?

Only a few of us will ever be ordained to really lift mankind out of the mire. The rest of us can but pray, pray for Bodge. Let us pray that he may win free of indecent compulsion to surrender. And the best way to ensure that the work of the world goes on, is not so much to identify ourselves with the peasant if we happen to be suburbanites, but to join in with the task of feeding the multitudes, and keeping them warm. It may not leave you free for "other things," that phrase so beloved of simple-lifers, but it will free you from the hypocrisy of pretending to solve complex situations by adding to the number of complexes.

Production oversight

I was present at a Conference recently which was concerned in the increase of production, and every theory and argument known to man was put forward as a means of producing more food except the time honoured way of adding to the number of labourers.

Old Bodge has us foxed really. You can scarcely attend a symphony concert today without hearing the yarn that culture helps production. It might. But one thing we do know, and let it be an indictment of ourselves rather than of the artist, and that is that access to great music, painting and literature, or for that matter, access to the New Testament, has made for self-indulgence rather than the increase of imaginative life to mankind. Culture should be the flower of man's labours, as religion is

Pacifist Profiles

XXXVII

FEW individual efforts have achieved more towards establishing the American pacifist movement on a firm basis than that of Dr. Jessie Hughan.

Her story is of a vigorous, life-long campaign; the ceaseless application of unusual energy and intellectual capacity to the task of uniting the loose threads of pacifist thought and activity into effective organisation.

It has been a task that could only have been undertaken by one who combines profound faith and idealism with pronounced practical ability.

Dr. Hughan's childhood influences were conducive to the development of pacifist ideas and progressive political interests. She was, she says, "brought up a Single Taxer" (in itself an incentive to political and economic studies), and her mother, whose ancestry was largely Quaker, tended always to non-violent principles, becoming explicitly pacifist in 1914.

She began early to apply herself to the study of social problems. Her A.M. thesis, at Columbia University School of Political Science, was on "Henry George's Contribution to Economics." The subject she chose for her P.M. thesis was "American Socialism of the Present Day"—a choice encouraged by the faculty—and before her studies were completed they had determined the direction of her public interests: she became a Socialist Party member in 1907.

When, however, she obtained her degree in 1910, she was told that this membership would debar her from recommendation for college instructorship. She therefore entered the New York City High School as teacher of English.

She published three books on Socialism—one, a development of her college thesis, "American Socialism of the Present Day," the others, "The Facts of Socialism" and "What is Socialism?" Always an active member of the Party she ran for various offices, including Lieutenant Governor and Senator of New York State.

When the 1914 war broke out in Europe she and her family immediately took a pacifist stand. At first, she searched unsuccessfully for an uncompromising peace organisation, but in 1915, with John Haynes Holmes and Tracy D. Mygatt, she organised

the seal. Alas that it should become the pretentious veneer which hides the nature of the truth!

You cannot easily persuade Bodge to become a humbug. You cannot get through to him by the language of the arts and crafts. If you talk to him about the dignity of labour he can smell the falsity immediately. If he has dignity, as most working men have, you probably make him so self-conscious that he begins to feel he is without dignity.

So in our prayers for Bodge let us pray that he may go on his way without our interference, for he is the bedrock of our civilisation. Until we can do without eating, let us give thanks to Bodge, who makes it possible.



Dr. JESSIE HUGHAN

the Non-Enlistment League, which existed for two years and, as she says, "secured several thousand members and unfavourable publicity."

About 1916 the Fellowship of Reconciliation was established in America and she became a charter member, serving on the National Council for some years. At present she is one of the local New York Council of the FoR.

Because of her pacifist activities she was brought before several official committees, and though not dismissed, was not given the department headship to which she was entitled as having passed the examinations second on a long list.

After the Armistice she was disappointed with the failure of American pacifism to produce an aggressive and inclusive movement on the lines of the British Non-Conscription Fellowship. Accordingly, with the assistance of Nevin Sayre, Elinor Byrns and others, she initiated such a movement on a small scale, which, as the American War Resisters' League, became affiliated with the WRI about 1923. She is still the active Hon. Secretary of this, and for many years was a member of the WRI Council.

In 1923 she published "A Study of International Government," a critical analysis of the League of Nations in the perspective of previous World Government plans. She has also written numerous pamphlets and leaflets for the WRI, including "Revolution and Realism," "Three Decades of War Resistance," and "Pacifism and Invasion," with a brochure of poems, "The Challenge of Mars."

Years of hard work have only deepened Dr. Hughan's faith. The experience of two world wars and the cold wars in between, she says, have only served to strengthen her conviction that "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight," and that in war resistance, as exemplified by the WRI, lies our hope for the survival of civilisation.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.1: 5.30 p.m. Fellowship House, 38, Gordon Square. "Science, Christianity and War": Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS Meeting for University students: London Union of FoR.

Saturday, April 30

COLCHESTER: 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Headgate Church, Chapel Street: Area Conference: Speakers: Reginald Sorensen, MP, Hugh Faulkner: FoR.

Sunday, May 1

LONDON: 3 p.m., Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1: London Area AGM: PPU.

Monday, May 2

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Open-air meeting: Brian Anstey: PPU.

Tuesday, May 3

NOTTINGHAM: 6 p.m. Old Market Square: Open-air meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

CROYDON: 7.45 p.m. 10 Normanton Road, South Croydon: "The CO Movement Since 1939": Denis Hayes: PPU.

FRIDAY May 6th

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. Westminster FMH, 52 St. Martin's Lane: "East and West": IVSP: Secretary: Douglas H. Childs, 10 Winchester House, Blackheath Village, S.E.3.

Thursday, May 5

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open-air Meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

Friday, May 6

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall: "British Foreign Policy": Mr. Dingle M. Foot: National Peace Council.

Saturday, May 7

BRISTOL: 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. St. Michael's Parish Hall: Area Conference for South Gloucester and North Somerset: Speaker: Rev. Prof. L. W. Grensted; Chairman: Rev. F. C. Vyvyan Jones: FoR.

CARDIFF: 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Charles St.: Area Conference for Monmouth and Glamorgan: Speaker: Dr. Alex Wood, MA: FoR.

CONWAY: 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Broncaestell Cafe: Annual meeting: Speaker: Rev. Dr. W. Davies: FoR.

GUILDFORD: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Ward Street: Area Conference for West Surrey: Speaker: Hugh Faulkner: FoR.

NORWICH: 3 p.m. Chapel-in-the-Field Congregational Church: Area Conference for Norfolk: Speaker: Rev. Claud Colman, MA, B Litt: FoR.

ST. ALBANS: 3.15 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Lattimore Road: Area Conference for Hertfordshire and South Bedfordshire: Speaker: Percy W. Bartlett; Chairman: Rev. Peter Ream: FoR.

Sunday, May 8

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: Speaker: Sybil Morrison: Stoke Newington Group PPU.

Monday, May 9

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Open-air meeting: Brian Anstey: PPU.

Thursday, May 12

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open-air meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

Friday, May 13

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall: "British Foreign Policy": Dr. Hewlett Johnson: National Peace Council.

Sunday, May 15

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: Speaker: Kenneth Trueman: Stoke Newington Group, PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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MEETINGS

DINGLE M. FOOT, on "Britain's Foreign Policy," Friday, May 16, at 1.15 p.m., Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Programme of Series from National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evening at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

WEEK-END School at Great Hucklow, Derbyshire, May 21-22. Speaker J. Allen Skinner. Subject "Russia and the Problem of Peace." Cost 13s. 6d. Send 2s. 6d. deposit to Eleanor Pease, 28 Enst Bank Place, Sheffield 2.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in, to Peace News (STamford Hill 2262) 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4. (one minute from station).

NORTH LONDON readers are reminded that the Bookstall at Peace News office carries an interesting selection of topical books and pamphlets. Visitors to the office are always welcome; hours 9.30 to 6 o'clock, Wednesday evenings up to 9 o'clock. Our premises are above Fish and Cook, Stationers, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

● QUAKERS AND THE LAW

(Continued from page one)

and that religious liberty shall not be curtailed.

"We believe in government and the capacity of the state to be an instrument of the Kingdom of God; we believe in loyalty to it and in obedience to its laws so long as it is such an instrument. But we believe that the loyal citizen, acting by the light which God gives him in his conscience, must judge whether his government is serving as the instrument of God's kingdom.

The great issue is now drawn

"We believe that now, in our time, in our country, the great issue is being drawn between the way of Divine love revealed by Christ, and the way of the military system.

"We believe the Draft Law is one chief point at which these two ways of life are in conflict.

"Friends have always maintained that they owe a higher loyalty to God than to the State. Early Friends established 'Meetings for Sufferings' to aid and comfort those who were persecuted for obedience to conscience. If we are to retain and be worthy of the liberties which they won, we must not only sustain those who suffer for conscience' sake, but we must also vigorously protest against any laws which restrict freedom of conscience and strive to have them repealed or declared invalid.

"We urge Congress to repeal the Draft Law.

"So long as it is in force, we ask our governmental authorities to administer it under a sense of responsibility to God for maintaining the holiness of religion and the sacredness of religious liberty."

ACTUALLY, THIS IS IMPORTANT

I DON'T wish to put myself forward at all or seem to be complaining because the Editor hasn't found space for me this week as naturally the AGM has crowded out more readable—I mean less important things and I hope I'm disinterested enough to — and so forth. But noticing a couple of inches down here I thought I'd slip in while the Editor's at lunch and emphasise a point made by Michael Tippett which might otherwise be missed. (Name? Oh—Owlglass. Sorry.)

Michael said he was waiting for the real International, through which all pacifists could meet across Iron Curtains and other snags. These modern composers aren't always coherent at first hearing, but I think what he meant was that everything will be all right —

When a body can meet a body coming thro' the WRI

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Mayor of Hiroshima to PPU:

"OUR PEOPLE ARE WITH YOU IN YOUR WORTHY CAUSE"

"I can assure you that the people of Hiroshima are with you as one in your worthy cause for peace. Will you please convey to all members of your Peace Pledge Union our best wishes for every success in the worthwhile activities of your peace organization."

THIS is the concluding passage of a letter from the Mayor of Hiroshima to Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union who last November assured the Mayor of widespread support of PPU members for the Mayor's World Peace Day Declaration, published in Peace News on September 10 and since reprinted as a leaflet, by the War Resisters' International.

"The serious problem raised by the advent of atomic energy should be tackled by all peace-loving people," writes the Mayor. "Hiroshima's experience is not a thing of the past to be forgotten by the great majority and studied by scholars; it is a constant threat, hovering precariously over the heads of every living being this very moment."

"Will the forces of peace be powerful enough to overcome the counter forces of war and destruction? Here is the all important question which we must face squarely and devise ways and means of bringing it to the attention of the whole of mankind before damage is done."

At the World Peace Day Demonstration in Hiroshima on August 6 last year, the anniversary of the dropping of the Atom Bomb, British fighter planes were ordered to fly low over the meeting, with a view to drowning some of the speeches.

The full text of the Mayor's letter, appears in the May PPU Journal published this week, price 5d. post free.

Not for Hungarians

"For the United States, the war loss in human lives was less than the number of traffic accident fatalities in a single year. But for the Hungarians, the war was no traffic accident! Hungary lost over 600,000 people in the war—some 7 per cent. of her population. This is why the issue of peace is a national issue."—Jozsef Revai, editor of Szabad Nep.

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—Chackravarti Rajagopalachari, the new Governor-General of India.

NOTTINGHAM PPU GROUP

Open-air Meeting in Old Market Square, Tuesday, May 3, at 7 p.m.

Speaker: SYBIL MORRISON

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"Politically Immature"

(That's what we are, says Mayhew)

THE National Peace Council's new series of lunch-hour talks on "Britain's Foreign Policy" was started on April 22 by Mr. C. P. Mayhew, MP, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

He began his very clear and factual address by denouncing the various Peace Conferences that were being held which had no other object than to weaken the Western Democracies in relation to Soviet Russia and her satellites.

He then gave a detailed defence of Labour's Foreign Policy. He outlined many of the very fine things that had been done in the economic field through U.N.O. But in the political field all was not so well. We were all very disappointed that so soon after the last war we should be confronted with the possibility of another. He felt that this was due to Russia's obstructive and provocative behaviour in U.N.O. and in her relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. He praised our policy of firmness and patience and gave full support to the Atlantic Pact, only regretting that we had not had it in 1939.

A very heated question time followed. Amongst other things, he was asked about our troops in Greece, and America's troops in Britain. The last questioner asked Mr. Mayhew if he thought that all people who supported Peace Conferences must be Communists. He said "No, they might be pacifists—in which case they are politically immature."

Ten-hour day with road gang

A YOUNG Negro and two white American COs last week finished a sentence of thirty days' hard labour on a North Carolina road gang.

They had been arrested in 1947 for refusing to sit in the sections allocated to Negroes and whites on a Carolina bus and narrowly escaped being lynched. The men chose to serve their sentences rather than prejudice by their appeal a better test case of the Southern state's colour-bar laws.

Bayard Rustin, the sentenced Negro told the New York Times before he left to serve his sentence: "We understand that while the work is hard, conditions are not too terrible. It is a road gang, not a chain gang. I am afraid the white boys will have a rougher time since my fellow-prisoners may be expected to sympathise with me."

The road gangs work from 7 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. each day with only half an hour for lunch.

"The work is with pick and shovel, chopping weeds, or pounding rock, so that it is pretty exhausting," says a statement issued by the Congress of Racial Equality.

IMMATURE?

PACIFISTS are politically immature, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs told a National Peace Council meeting last week.

Perhaps that explains why both Communists and Nationalists in China allow conchie-driven ambulance convoys to move freely through the battle zones, giving aid to both sides.

Peace News is the only newspaper that is both anxious and willing to drive home the lesson of the conchies in China that unarmed men of goodwill are wanted in this world; that an unarmed Britain with her Services manned by conchies can render a real service to the world.

We ought to be printing many thousands of eight-page Peace News. The Forward Fund and street selling will help us to give more news of peace to more people—to preserve more people in a state of "political immaturity."

THE EDITOR

Contributions since April 14: £8 5s. 8d. Total for 1949: £203 17s. 10d.

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Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"Not only strike while the iron is hot, but make it hot by striking."

—Cromwell.

ANOTHER AGM is over: now we must turn our thoughts away from the past year and marshal our resources and our energies for the coming year.

On Sunday evening, tired, but by no means despondent I could not help looking back on all the twelve AGMs I have attended.

I recall the eager enthusiasm, the dauntless determination, the high hopes with which we once returned to our groups and our areas to carry on the struggle; we have travelled a hard road since those days and many have left us, either to go back, or to branch off in some other direction, yet here we are, at our twelfth AGM still standing, still seeking for the strength to go forward.

It has seemed as though the declining membership was a sign of our inability to go on, yet the simple statement that Maud Rowntree made of her faith in the work we had to do, found, I am sure, an echo in the hearts and minds of every member who heard her deeply moving words. We are going on, and we mean to go on.

The time has come

Vera Brittain, in her inaugural speech as our new Chairman rallied us with fine, inspiring words, (those of you who were not fortunate enough to hear her speech can read it in full in the June Journal) but it was a phrase in her closing speech which made me choose my opening quotation.

She said that she believed the PPU had come to a turning point, not because she herself was now chairman, but because "the time had come." It is not always easy to know when the time has come, and, perhaps, we have waited too hopefully for the iron to grow hot; it can be made hot by striking now, and striking often, in every way which seems right to us, for if the time is not now, it will never be. The new spark is there waiting for us to strike it into flaming life.

Vera Brittain has no intention of being a mere figurehead at the end of the conference she made us an offer of her services.

She asked all representatives to return to their Groups and make plans to raise money to enable us to carry on our work; a bring-and-buy sale, a whistle drive, a poetry reading, a play, a garden party, a special pacifist service where there is a pacifist clergyman, were among the things she suggested, and she promised that where it was humanly possible she would attend such functions to make an opening speech and would also undertake to write personally to the other sponsors asking them to assist in the same way.

She left for America on Tuesday and will be away, lecturing until nearly the end of June; will you, therefore, make your plans and then, in July, write to her personally at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

It is true that no organisation can be carried on without money, but it is also true that no money can buy the willing sacrifice of leisure, the voluntary day-to-day work of the ordinary PPU member, without which the flame must die down.

Next week I shall be giving you details of our plans for campaigning during the summer and I hope we shall undertake them with those dramatic words ringing in our heads and in our hearts—"the time has come."

Vera Brittain's U.S. tour

Owing to the difficulty of forwarding correspondence during her American tour, Vera Brittain asks that correspondence addressed to her as Chairman of the PPU and sent to Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. should be marked to await her return in mid-June.

WORDS ARE DEEDS

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